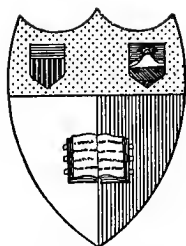


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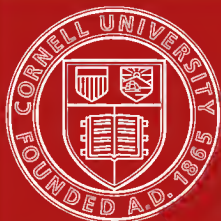
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IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES.

The subject of the immigration of foreigners into the United States has become one of the gravest questions of the day. To show the importance of that immigration, from a statistical and national-economical point of view, is what is intended by this work.

Emigration is as old as mankind. The first history of men is nothing but a narration of events which befell individuals or whole nations whilst migrating from one country to another, pictured by single deeds of gallantry or depravity of prominent men. In general, emigration has always flowed from east to west. The ancient Greeks established colonies in almost every section of the coast of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Among them only freemen, but no slaves were permitted to emigrate. Greek arts and science, especially on the Asiatic shore, flourished in the midst of barbarians for centuries. Homer himself was born in one of these colonies. The same was the case with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. The Romans conquered, but did not colonize in the same sense. The great migrations of nations at the end of the Roman empire, 376 after Christ, were nothing but warlike expeditions, incited by victories of others, and the imbecility, effeminacy, and consequent weakness, of the western European nations. Of the mediæval age, the expeditions of the Normans, the Crusades, the settlements of the Teutonic and other orders in Prussia and Livonia, were half expeditions for adventures, half colonizations—a desire of actions, which, especially after the discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, and, a few years later, of America, we meet with in southern Europe; however, the greater part of the southerners returned to Europe, after having made a fortune, or having otherwise been either successful or disappointed in their expectations, and therefore it was more speculation than emigration in our sense. After the Reformation, religious persecutions drove a good many persons from their homes. But emigration in the American sense was unknown to the ancient and middle ages. The emigrants to this country came not as conquerors fighting for their native sovereign, or to increase, by their labor, his finances and revenues, but for the purpose of founding a new home, a new fatherland. They came to the land of their choice as freemen, with the expectation to die also as such.

In the catalogue of “injuries and usurpations” on which the immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence based their resolution to defy the power of the king of Great Britain, the following stands conspicuous:

“He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.”

These, amongst others, were enumerated as evidences of a direct object on the part of the British king to establish "an absolute tyranny over these States." The founders of our republic, therefore, favored immigration, and to that end denounced the obstructions to naturalization, and the refusal to "encourage migration hither" by George the Third, as acts of tyranny. The illustrious patriots who framed the constitution introduced into it a clause empowering Congress to adopt a "uniform rule of naturalization." The first Congress which assembled under the constitution, composed in a great degree of the same sages and statesmen who had signed the Declaration of Independence and framed the constitution, enacted a law by which any free white alien, who had resided two years within the United States, might become a citizen. This law was passed in March, 1790. In January, 1795, the term of residence, prior to admission as a citizen, was increased to five years. Such was the legislation during President Washington's two terms. In June, 1798, after John Adams became President, and when federalism held sway in the government, the term of residence, prior to admission to citizenship, was increased to fourteen years. It so continued until April, 1802, when, Mr. Jefferson being President, and democracy in the ascendant, the term was reduced to the Washington standard of five years, and so it has remained down to the present day.

It is now proposed by the modern order of patriots, who delight in the name of know-nothings, to prevent the further immigration of foreigners by repealing the naturalization laws entirely, if that is found practicable, and, if not, to obstruct it as much as possible by extending the term of residence to twenty-one years. Their first proposition is substantially the policy of the king of Great Britain, which the signers of the Declaration denounced to the world as tyrannical; their alternative proposition is substantially the policy of the federalists of 1798, except that it is worse by just one-half. The democrats stand upon the platform first erected under Washington; and re-established under Jefferson, for carrying into practical effect the policy proclaimed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

I propose now to vindicate the wisdom and patriotism of the fathers of the republic against the reckless and factious attacks of the modern federal advocates of the policy of king George the Third. Upon the principle which these model patriots now promulgate, they would have been on the side of the British king in 1776, and in 1798 they would have passed as acceptable federalists. *If immigration is wrong now, it was wrong then; if obstructions to naturalization are right now, they were right then.*

We are not without reliable data on which to determine whether know-nothings are wiser and more patriotic than Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and the host of sages and statesmen who have concurred with them in encouraging immigration and facilitating naturalization. We have the fruits of their policy, and by that standard we will judge of its wisdom. With the exception of four years, the democratic policy, as to immigration and naturalization, has been in force from the beginning of the government to the present time. We commenced with thirteen States and a free population of less than three millions and a

half. We have now thirty-one States, with a free population of more than twenty millions. Population and territory are prominent elements in national strength, prosperity, and greatness. Our revenues have increased from a few millions to more than fifty annually. Immense empires of new territory have been acquired and paid for, and now furnish homes and happiness to millions of enterprising and productive citizens. Our progress, in all that gives power and greatness to a nation, has filled the world with wonder and admiration; whilst it has filled our own people with a spirit of national pride which they have abundant cause to indulge. All this, and manifold more, will be readily conceded even by our know-nothing patriots; but, in their simplicity, they will ask, what has our amazing progress, in all the elements of national prosperity and grandeur, to do with the policy of immigration and naturalization? We will endeavor to enlighten them by the irresistible logic of facts and figures.

If the know-nothings had controlled the government in 1789, when the constitution went into operation, instead of encouraging immigration and enacting liberal naturalization laws, their policy would have been a total exclusion of all foreigners. They would have acted upon the doctrine which they now advocate, "Americans must rule America;" and to that end no foreigner would have been allowed a resting place within the limits of the Old Thirteen. Let us see how that policy would have worked.

In 1790 the population of the United States, including whites and free colored persons, was 3,231,930. If all increase from immigration had been cut off, in pursuance of the know-nothing doctrine, the surplus of births over deaths would have constituted the only growth in our population. A very interesting problem then presents itself. Upon the know-nothing policy, if adopted in 1790, what would be the present population of the United States? Fortunately, the census table furnishes us with the data for solving this proposition; and of illustrating the wonderful wisdom of the know-nothing policy. If we take the census returns for 1850, we find the number of births to be 548,835, and the number of deaths 271,890—confining ourselves to the white and free colored population. The difference, being 276,945, was the increase of population for 1850 from excess of births over deaths. The whole population in 1850, of whites and free-colored persons, was, 19,987,573. The increase, therefore, from the excess of births over deaths, was one and thirty-eight hundredths per cent. We take 1850 as an example to ascertain the per-centage of increase from the only source of growth in our population which the know-nothing policy recognises wise and patriotic. As the know-nothings are using the United States Census Report as far as it favors their purpose, but repudiate it as false as soon as, in accordance with veracity, it speaks in favor of the immigrants; and to show that the per-centage furnished by the returns of 1850 is reliable, I furnish a table carefully made out, showing the per-centage in a number of countries from which I have official statistical returns. The table is as follows:

TABLE NO. 1.—*Showing the increase of population by the surplus of births over deaths.*

Year.	Name of the country.	Number of inhabitants.	Number of births in the respective year.	Numb. of deaths in the respective year.	Per cent. of increase of the total population.
1850	United States	19,987,573*	548,835*	271,890*	1.38*
1850	England and Wales	17,927,609	593,422	368,986	1.25
1851	France	35,783,170	943,061	784,433	0.44
1835	Russia	59,000,000	2,173,055	1,731,834	0.74
1849	Prussia	16,331,187	691,562	498,862	1.17
1850	Holland	3,056,591	105,338	67,588	1.23
1850	Belgium	4,426,202	130,107	92,820	0.61
1849	Portugal	3,473,758	114,331	88,992	0.72
1852	Saxony	1,987,832	80,322	58,739	1.08

*The United States Census of 1850 gives the births and deaths of the white and free colored population in one column, without any separation; therefore, it has become necessary to include the free colored population in all other tables hereafter given. As to the slave population the writer sees, for his purpose, no necessity to mention anything of it at all, as it has no connexion whatever with the immigration.

As would be expected, it is seen that the excess of births over deaths in the United States is larger than in any other country; and hence I have no hesitation in adopting the per-centage of annual increase of one and thirty-eight hundredths as reliable. This furnishes us a rule to solve the problem before stated. The population in 1790 was 3,231,930. Excluding all immigration, the increase of population each year would be at the rate of 1.38 per cent. This increase added each year to the aggregate of the preceding year, down to 1850, will give us the population of the United States in 1850 as it would have been upon the know-nothing policy of excluding all immigration. In the following table will be also shown what our population in 1850 would have amounted to if immigration had been stopped in 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, or 1840, taking the actual population of those years as starting point. The calculation is a long and tedious one, but the result is mathematically certain. It is this: The population in 1790 being 3,231,930, and being increased alone by the surplus of births over deaths, would in 1850 amount to 7,555,423 whites and free colored persons, including 200,000 for Louisiana, Florida, California and those territories which were acquired since 1790. But upon turning to the actual returns of the census of 1850, we find the number of whites and free colored persons to be 19,987,573. It appears, then, that if the know-nothing policy had been adopted in 1790, our present population would be 7,555,423, instead of its actual number of 19,987,573—a difference in population between the know-nothing and the democratic policy of 12,432,150.

TABLE NO. 2.—*Showing the increase of the white and free colored population of the United States, if without immigration since the respective years 1790 to 1840, after the ratio of increase in 1850:*

Year.	Annual increase of the white and free colored population if without immigration since 1790.	Annual surplus of births.	Annual increase of the white and free colored population if without immigration since 1800.	Annual surplus of births.
1790	3,231,930	.....	.....	.....
1791	3,276,530	44,600	.....	.....
1792	3,321,746	45,216	.....	.....
1793	3,367,866	45,840	.....	.....
1794	3,414,056	46,472	.....	.....
1795	3,461,172	47,114	.....	.....

TABLE No. 2—Continued.

YEAR.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immi- gration since 1790.	Annual surplus of births.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immi- gration since 1890.	Annual surplus of births.
1797.....	3,557,359	48,423		
1798.....	3,606,450	49,091		
1799.....	3,656,219	49,769		
1800.....	3,706,674	50,455	4,412,884	
1801.....	3,757,826	51,152	4,473,781	60,897
1802.....	3,809,684	51,858	4,535,619	61,738
1803.....	3,862,257	52,573	4,598,109	62,590
1804.....	3,915,556	53,299	4,661,562	63,453
1805.....	3,969,590	54,034	4,725,991	64,329
1806.....	4,024,358	54,768	4,791,209	65,216
1807.....	4,079,895	55,537	4,857,327	66,118
1808.....	4,126,197	56,302	4,924,358	67,031
1809.....	4,193,276	57,079	4,992,314	67,958
1810.....	4,251,143	57,867	5,061,207	68,893
1811.....	4,309,808	58,665	5,131,051	69,844
1812.....	4,369,283	59,475	5,201,859	70,808
1813.....	4,429,579	60,296	5,273,644	71,785
1814.....	4,490,707	61,128	5,346,409	72,765
1815.....	4,552,678	61,971	5,420,189	73,780
1816.....	4,615,504	62,826	5,494,990	74,801
1817.....	4,679,197	63,693	5,570,820	75,830
1818.....	4,743,769	64,572	5,647,697	76,877
1819.....	4,809,233	65,464	5,724,733	77,936
1820.....	4,875,600	66,367	5,803,734	79,001
1821.....	4,942,883	67,283	5,883,825	80,081
1822.....	5,011,094	68,211	5,965,021	81,196
1823.....	5,080,247	69,153	6,047,338	82,317
1824.....	5,150,354	70,107	6,130,791	83,453
1825.....	5,221,428	71,074	6,215,295	84,504
1826.....	5,293,473	72,055	6,301,066	85,771
1827.....	5,366,522	73,049	6,388,020	86,954
1828.....	5,440,580	74,058	6,476,174	88,154
1829.....	5,515,659	75,079	6,565,545	89,371
1830.....	5,591,775	76,116	6,656,149	90,604
1831.....	5,668,941	77,166	6,748,003	91,854
1832.....	5,747,172	78,231	6,841,125	93,122
1833.....	5,826,482	79,310	6,935,532	94,407
1834.....	5,906,887	80,405	7,031,242	95,710
1835.....	5,988,402	81,515	7,128,273	97,031
1836.....	6,071,041	82,639	7,226,643	98,370
1837.....	6,154,821	83,780	7,326,470	99,727
1838.....	6,239,757	84,936	7,427,576	101,106
1839.....	6,325,885	86,108	7,530,076	102,500
1840.....	6,413,161	87,296	7,633,991	103,915
1841.....	6,501,662	88,501	7,739,340	105,349
1842.....	6,591,384	89,722	7,846,142	106,802
1843.....	6,682,345	90,961	7,954,418	108,276
1844.....	6,774,561	92,216	8,064,188	109,770
1845.....	6,868,049	93,488	8,175,473	111,285
1846.....	6,962,828	94,779	8,288,294	112,821
1847.....	7,059,115	96,287	8,402,672	114,378
1848.....	7,156,530	97,415	8,518,628	115,956
1849.....	7,255,300	98,770	8,636,185	117,557
1850.....	7,355,423	100,123	8,755,364	119,179

TABLE No. 2—Continued.

YEAR.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immi- gration since 1810.	Annual surplus of births.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immi- gration since 1820.	Annual surplus of births.
1810.....	6,048,450			
1811.....	6,131,918	83,468		
1812.....	6,216,538	84,620		
1813.....	6,303,326	85,788		
1814.....	6,389,298	86,972		
1815.....	6,477,470	88,172		
1816.....	6,566,859	89,389		
1817.....	6,657,481	90,622		
1818.....	6,749,354	91,873		
1819.....	6,842,495	93,141		
1820.....	6,936,921	94,426	8,100,093	
1821.....	7,032,650	95,729	8,211,874	111,781
1822.....	7,129,700	97,050	8,325,197	113,323

TABLE No. 2—Continued.

Year.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immigration since 1810.	Annual surplus of births.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immigration since 1820.	Annual surplus of births.
1823.....	7,226,089	98,389	8,440,184	114,987
1824.....	7,327,836	99,747	8,556,658	116,474
1825.....	7,428,960	101,124	8,674,739	118,081
1826.....	7,531,479	102,519	8,794,449	119,711
1827.....	7,635,413	103,934	8,915,802	121,353
1828.....	7,740,781	105,368	9,038,840	123,038
1829.....	7,847,603	106,822	9,163,575	124,735
1830.....	7,955,899	108,296	9,290,032	126,457
1831.....	8,065,691	109,792	9,418,234	128,202
1832.....	8,176,997	111,306	9,548,205	129,971
1833.....	8,404,238	114,399	9,678,970	130,765
1834.....	8,520,216	115,978	9,812,539	133,569
1835.....	8,637,794	117,578	9,947,952	135,413
1836.....	8,756,995	119,201	10,085,233	137,281
1837.....	8,877,841	120,846	10,224,409	139,176
1838.....	9,000,355	122,514	10,365,505	141,096
1839.....	9,124,559	124,204	10,508,548	143,043
1840.....	9,250,477	125,918	10,653,565	145,017
1841.....	9,378,133	127,656	10,800,584	147,019
1842.....	9,507,551	129,418	10,949,632	149,048
1843.....	9,638,755	131,204	11,100,727	151,104
1844.....	9,771,769	133,014	11,253,917	153,190
1845.....	9,906,619	134,850	11,409,221	155,304
1846.....	10,043,330	136,711	11,566,668	157,447
1847.....	10,182,927	138,597	11,726,288	159,620
1848.....	10,323,451	140,524	11,888,110	161,822
1849.....	10,465,914	142,463	12,052,165	164,055
1850.....	10,610,343	144,429	12,218,484	166,319

TABLE No. 2—Continued.

Year.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immigration since 1830.	Annual surplus of births.	Annual increase of the white and free color'd population if without immigration since 1840.	Annual surplus of births.
1830.....	10,856,977	.....	.....	.....
1831.....	11,006,803	149,825	.....	.....
1832.....	11,158,696	151,693	.....	.....
1833.....	11,312,686	153,990	.....	.....
1834.....	11,468,801	156,115	.....	.....
1835.....	11,627,070	158,269	.....	.....
1836.....	11,787,523	160,453	.....	.....
1837.....	11,950,190	162,667	.....	.....
1838.....	12,115,102	164,912	.....	.....
1839.....	12,282,290	167,188	.....	.....
1840.....	12,451,785	169,495	14,581,998	.....
1841.....	12,623,619	171,834	14,783,229	201,231
1842.....	12,797,824	174,205	14,985,237	202,008
1843.....	12,974,333	176,509	15,192,033	206,796
1844.....	13,153,378	179,045	15,401,683	209,650
1845.....	13,334,874	181,496	15,614,226	212,543
1846.....	13,518,895	184,021	15,829,702	216,476
1847.....	13,705,455	186,560	16,048,151	218,449
1848.....	13,894,590	189,135	16,269,615	221,464
1849.....	14,086,315	191,745	16,494,135	224,520
1850.....	14,280,726	194,391	16,721,674	227,539

To these are to be added the results for Louisiana, (1803); Florida, (1821); California, New Mexico, Texas, and Oregon. Louisiana had in 1803, 77,000 inhabitants, of which 53,000 were slaves. Florida, in 1821, had about 10,000. California and New Mexico, at the time of their acquisition, had about 60,000. Texas and Oregon only brought back into the Union citizens who had emigrated thither but a short time before. If we put them down in 1850, after the above scale, with 200,000 white and free colored persons, the writer thinks he has done them more than ample justice.

TABLE No. 3.—*Recapitulation.*

The United States would have in 1850—		Total white and free colored population.
If without immigration since 1790	7,355,423	
Addition for Louisiana, Florida, &c.....	200,000	
		7,555,423
If without immigration since 1800	8,755,364	
Addition for Louisiana, Florida, &c.....	200,000	
		8,955,364
If without immigration since 1810	10,610,343	
Addition for Florida, &c.....	100,000	
		10,710,343
If without immigration since 1820	12,218,484	
Addition for Florida, &c.....	100,000	
		12,318,484
If without immigration since 1830	14,280,726	
Addition for New Mexico and California.....	50,000	
		14,330,726
If without immigration since 1840	16,721,674	
Addition for New Mexico and California.....	50,000	
		16,771,674
They had <i>actually</i> , however.....		19,987,573

This will be to many an astonishing result; but I am well assured of the correctness of this statement.*

As I have shown above that the mean (1.38 per cent.) by which I have made up these tables corresponds well with that of other countries, I will also compare the result. It will be found that no European country has *actually* increased in the same period so much as the United States would have, if, instead of a population of 19,987,573, they had in 1850 only 7,555,423. The figures in the following table are taken from official returns.

TABLE No. 4.—*Increase of various European nations since the last decennium of the 18th century.*

England and Wales.....in 1790.....	8,675,000	} Increase .. = 2.06
Do.....do.....in 1851.....	17,922,768	
Austria.....in 1792.....	23,500,000	} do..... = 1.55
Do.....in 1851.....	36,514,466	
France.....in 1789.....	26,000,000	} do..... = 1.37
Do.....in 1851.....	35,783,170	
Prussia.....in 1797.....	8,660,000	} do..... = 1.88
Do.....in 1849.....	16,331,187	
Spain.....in 1797.....	10,351,075	} do..... = 1.33
Do.....in 1849.....	14,216,219	
Sweden.....in 1790.....	2,150,493	} do..... = 1.54
Do.....in 1849.....	3,316,535	
Sardinia, (Island).....in 1790.....	456,990	} do..... = 1.19
Do.....in 1848.....	547,948	
United States*.....in 1790.....	3,231,930	} do..... = 2.33
Without immigration since 1790.....in 1850.....	7,555,423	

* White and free colored.

This table clearly proves the above estimate of the population of the United States, without immigration since 1790, to be not only a correct one, but even exhibiting a higher increase than any other country. England, the highest among them, is still, with one year more increase, twenty-seven on the hundred behind the United States. Some persons may think doubtful that the actual increase of England and Wales is so close to that of the United States, as there has been every year a

*An abstract of these statistics I published in a small pamphlet last June. The principal papers of the United States took notice of it, and commented, with one insignificant exception, as far as I know, very highly on it. Of statistical authorities, De Bow's Review published it in September, Hunt's Merchants' Magazine in December; in which later month it was also read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York. I have constantly been on the alert to hear that its correctness and reliability its attacked, the more, as I took the liberty to beg the statisticians of this country to honor it with a thorough examination; but till now, at least to my knowledge, there has been no such attack.

large emigration. But it must be remembered that England has had in return a considerable immigration from Ireland, Scotland, and even from the continent of Europe, invited by the enormous rise of her manufactures and commerce. England is not only a very healthy country, but also inhabited by a healthy people. Besides, it is a known fact that the population of manufacturing districts increases more than that where agriculture is the principal branch of occupation.

But there is another point of great importance, and in favor of my problem. The people of the United States, left without immigration, would not have increased 1.38 per cent. every year. Proof hereof is found in Massachusetts. This State had, in 1850, 830,066 native and 164,448 foreign born inhabitants, or *one* foreigner to *five* natives. The marriages were, during the years 1849 to 1851, Americans 18,286, or 220 in 10,000 of their own race; foreigners 7,440, or 450 in 10,000. This is 104.5 per cent. of foreign over native ratio. The births were in Massachusetts in the three years 1849, '50, and '51, of American parents 47,982, or 578 in 10,000 of their own race; foreign 24,523, or 1,491 in 10,000 of their own race. In Boston there were, American 7,278, or 966 in 10,000; foreign 13,032, or 2,053 in 10,000 of their own race. Of the 32,000 born in Massachusetts in 1854, 16,470 were of American parentage, while some 14,000 were of parents one or both foreigners; and the increase from foreign parents was more than twice what it was from native parents. At the same rate shortly we shall have more children born in Massachusetts from foreigners than from natives; for in five years the American births have not increased 1,000, while the foreign have increased more than 5,000. In Suffolk county already the births in foreign families are more than twice as numerous as in American, being 3,735 in the former, and 1,737 in the latter. Of the parents of Boston children, in 1854, the largest number was from Ireland, 2,824 fathers and 2,957 mothers, while there were but 410 fathers and 524 mothers natives of the city, and 533 fathers and 475 mothers natives of Massachusetts, out of Boston, or of other States. Cambridge had born of foreign parents 422 children to 208 Americans; Fall River, 223 to 88; Lawrence, 322 to 146; Lowell, 596 to 427; Roxbury, 383 to 168; Salem, 344 to 120; Taunton, 221 to 142; and Worcester, 421 foreign to 320 American. The foreigners in Massachusetts are chiefly of Celtic origin. In twenty years from the present time, one-half of the young men and women in the State will be of direct Celtic descendency, and there is no doubt that they also will brag and boast of their Pilgrim fathers, their revolutionary ancestry, and especially of their Anglo-Saxon blood in their Celtic veins. And why should not they? They will have the same right to do so as is possessed by at least two-thirds of our know-nothings. As the traces of a negro descendency disappear already in the third or fourth generation, I should think that in Massachusetts the Pilgrim and revolutionary blood, if it is not already so, must, in very short time, become at least very thin.

The cause of the large increase of foreign births is simply that, whilst of the native population in 1850 there were only 49.07 per cent. over the 15th year of age, the average amount of foreigners, of the same age, who arrived in 1854 and 1855, was 77.63 per cent.

Number of white inhabitants of the United States in 1850 under 15 years.....	8,002,715 =	40.93 pr. cent.
Do.....do.....do.....over 15 years.....	11,550,352 =	59.07 “
	19,553,068 =	100.00 “
Number of immigrants in 1854 under 15 years.....	100,013 =	21.72 “
Do.....do.....do.....over 15 years.....	360,461 =	78.28 “
	460,474 =	100.00 “
Number of immigrants in 1855 under 15 years.....	58,045 =	23.02 “
Do.....do.....do.....over 15 years.....	177,431 =	76.98 “
	235,476 =	100.00 “

Suppose that there are now five millions of foreigners in this country, they will, from this cause, produce just as much, and increase in the same degree, as 6,610,169 natives. Before the mortality tables of the United States were published, statisticians and political writers usually believed that the foreign born died in a greater proportion than the natives. But I always doubted it from the reason that over one-half of the deaths occurs under the age of twenty. Of the foreigners living in this country, however, only one-fourth is below that age, and especially the children are wanting, amongst which the mortality is always proportionally the greatest. The census has shown that I was not in error. According to a statement therein contained, the percentage of native deaths, excluding slaves, was 1.494, whilst that of the foreign was only 1.469. I take only the aggregate ratio of the total number of deaths in the United States, without going into details, as I do not believe in its correctness, being convinced that the ratio is too high in favor of the natives and against the foreigners. According to this mortality report, there died in New York, one out of 32 foreigners; in Massachusetts, one of every 60; in New Jersey, one of every 110; and in Maryland, one of every 116. These discrepancies are too great to bear any similarity to truth. But it matters nothing for my purpose, as it yet shows that, contrary to former supposition, the foreigners have at most the same and not a greater ratio of deaths than the native population.

According to the above calculation the immigrants and their descendants number in 1850:

Since 1790.....	12,432,150
“ 1800.....	11,032,109
“ 1810.....	9,277,230
“ 1820.....	8,669,089
“ 1830.....	5,656,847
“ 1840.....	3,215,899

At the first glance it will seem almost incredible that the excess from immigration should alone amount in the single decade of 1840 to 1850 to 3,215,899. But it must be remembered that the immigration within these years, as given by the custom-house reports, amounted to not less than 1,677,330; without those of which the custom-houses give no returns, and which Dr. Chickering, in his essay on immigration, puts down at 50 per cent. of the total number. Should their natural increase resemble that of the foreign population in Massachusetts, as stated above, none will find my hypothetical statement out of reach of probability.

These astounding results enable us to discuss intelligibly the effects of immigration upon our national progress in the great elements of strength and greatness, and wealth and prosperity. If immigration had been cut off in 1790, our population in 1850 would have been about what it actually was in 1820. Immigration, then, has put us thirty years forward in this important element of national prosperity. Our increase in all the departments of national progress has been in the exact ratio of our increase in population. Whilst the latter has increased sixfold, our commercial exports have increased, in the same period, eightfold, and our imports threefold.

YEAR.	Value of imports.	Value of exports.	Commercial fleet.	Revenues.
			<i>Tons.</i>	
1789-91.....	\$52,200,000	\$19,012,041	502,146	\$4,399,473
1800.....	91,252,768	70,971,780	972,492	10,624,987
1810.....	85,400,000	66,757,974	1,424,783	9,299,737
1820.....	74,450,000	69,691,699	1,280,166	16,779,331
1830.....	70,876,920	73,849,508	1,191,776	24,280,888
1840.....	131,571,950	104,805,891	2,180,764	16,993,858
1850.....	178,136,318	151,898,720	3,535,454	43,375,798
1855.....	261,468,520	275,156,846	5,212,001	65,203,930

None can fail to see in these figures the great benefit this country has derived from the increased immigration. Enormous is the increase of shipping, revenues, and commerce, from 1840 to 1855. Our imports increased 200 per cent., our exports 300 per cent., our commercial fleet 100 per cent., and our revenues more than 300 per cent. Since 1840, immigration has been chiefly directed to this country. Compare, again, 1850 with 1855, and the blindest man will perceive that the sudden rise of wealth and power this country owes chiefly to immigration. But for the influence of immigration, the wonderful works of improvement, which have added so much to our national wealth and prosperity, could not have been accomplished. To this we are indebted, in an eminent degree, for the thousands of miles of railroad and canal communication which now cover our vast domain like a net-work, and furnish ready and profitable facilities for realizing the benefits of the productive energies and enterprise of every industrial pursuit. To this we are indebted for the reduction of the vast wilderness of the west and northwest to the dominion of civilization and industry, swelling the amount of our annual revenues, increasing to an almost limitless extent our commercial wealth, and placing us in the front rank of nations as an agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial people. To immigration we are indebted in no small degree for the rapid addition of State after State to the confederacy, until we have spanned the continent with more than double our original number. But it cannot be necessary to dwell upon results so astounding, to foreign nations, and so flattering to our own national pride. To appreciate them, we have but to imagine twelve millions of our population withdrawn, and reflect upon the amazing contrast that would now be presented with a population little more than one-third of its present number! This contrast will be better appreciated, if we imagine the following eighteen of the bright stars which now illustrate the galaxy of States expunged from our national banner: Alabama, Arkansas,

California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin, Virginia, and New York. These States have a free white population of twelve millions, the amount of increase resulting from immigration. Instead of setting up a just claim to being the most happy, and prosperous, and powerful nation on the earth, able to command respect all over the world, to maintain our rights on sea and land against any foreign combination, and by the moral power of our republican example to shake the hoary thrones of monarchs in the Old World, we should be a fourth rate national power, subject to constant dangers of foreign invasion, and poorly able to defy the aggressions of a foreign enemy. These results prove the wisdom of the fathers of the republic in resisting the attempts of the British king to prevent immigration into the colonies, and illustrate the soundness of the policy which has enacted liberal naturalization laws and given encouragement to foreign immigration.

Men do not come here merely for the purpose of improving their physical condition. This is especially shown by the sudden decrease of immigration since the political ascendancy of the know-nothings. Exactly one hundred per cent. less have arrived in 1855 than in the preceding year 1854.

In 1854, landed	-	-	-	-	460,474
In 1855 "	-	-	-	-	230,476
					<hr/>
Decrease	-	-	-	-	229,998
					<hr/>

In order to have an idea of the loss this country has sustained hereby, it will not be amiss to state that the population of Delaware and Florida together is yet far below the number of persons the know-nothing policy has kept away in 1855. Rhode Island had in 1850 only 147,545, and may have now about 180,000. Only imagine that *one* year of know-nothing reign has cost us already more than the present population of two States like Delaware and Florida! How much will it cost us if this sway should be extended to four years more? This is the real and true standard with which to measure the prudence of the principles of the know-nothings, and the depth of their love to this country. It is more than probable that the immigration of 1856 will be even far behind that of 1855, if one may judge after the comparatively small number who have arrived in the first quarter of this year. After that rate the whole immigration will hardly exceed 50,000. This shows sufficiently that the immigrants come to this country just as much for political freedom as material well-being. It is true, the people of the United States, as a power, can use means to prevent immigration, and prohibit it if they will. But, in doing so, an original and distinguished principle of the government must be abrogated; and, having done this, we descend to a level with the arbitrary and proscriptive thrones of Europe. But the loss of the laborious immigrant will soon be felt. As already stated, the most of the immigrants wended their way to the prairies of the Far West, buying from the government with their own money the public lands, in order to wrest a livelihood from the bosom of mother earth. Their labors have enriched not only the cultivator,

but the country and the native-born citizen. Others again remained in the great Atlantic cities, where their herculean energies have been employed in the erection of public works. Men of genius, artists, scholars, came with this tide of immigration; and, while they have been able to find employment for themselves, they have also vastly contributed to the intellectual stores of this country. A remarkable instance of the public spirit and generosity of foreign-born citizens may be seen in the fact that the three leading scientific or educational institutions in the United States were founded by men born in other lands. I allude to the great Astor Library, of New York, endowed by the German, John Jacob Astor; the Girard College, in Philadelphia, endowed by the Frenchman, Stephen Girard; and the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, endowed by the Englishman, John Smithson.

It is not a high estimate if we put down the immigration in five years, from 1850 to 1855, at about two and a half millions. Suppose this number brought with them in value only 30 dollars per head, which is the very lowest estimate; and they have enriched the country in the very short space of five years, by an amount equal to \$75,000,000. It is also a very safe calculation to say that these immigrants have paid \$150,000,000 into the treasury of the United States for public lands. The revolutions of 1848 gave emigration a vast impulse, and drove masses of men of excellent quality to our shores. Whether we consider the amount of money, principally specie, brought with them, or the amount paid into the treasury for public lands, or the advantages conferred upon the native population by their industry and their skill, we may well hesitate in alarm and surprise, that any movement looking to the arrest or curtailment of the tide of immigration should for one moment have been encouraged by any portion of the American people. The principles of the know-nothings carried out would degrade the emigrant to the low position of an East Indian pariah, or a Russian serf, excepting only that he could not be sold. They would doom him to a fate far worse than the hardest despotism of the Old World. There, at least, he would have the consciousness of not suffering alone, as the whole population, and not a part of it, would have no more rights than himself. Here he would be marked out as an inferior, useful only to dig canals and build railroads, to fight like the Helots of old, to act as hewer of wood and drawer of water to those who falsely call themselves superior beings. And not this only. While this is sought to be made the lot of the white adopted citizens—while the laboring classes are appealed to deny equal privileges to the foreign-born fellow-being of their own race—behold their efforts making in the free States to elevate the negro to the political rights and privileges of the whites!

“Americans must rule America!”—that is the constant war-cry of the know-nothings. There are at present in the United States twenty-seven millions of inhabitants, of which five millions are foreigners. The Senate contains 62 and the House 234 members. Should the five millions be equally represented in their specific qualification as foreigners, of the Senators 14 and of the House 53 should be foreign-born citizens. But there is not a single foreign-born member in Congress. Are the democratic members for whom foreign-born citizens have cast

their votes, not as good, intelligent, and wise as those who have been elected by a mere native vote? The know-nothings speak constantly of their revolutionary inheritance, their "glorious sires of '76." Will they inform me how many of them can trace back their lineage to the time of the Revolution? Are not at least two-thirds of their number descendants of those who arrived in the country since 1790? Was not, in New York, even their candidate for governor a son of a foreigner? Are not, with the only exception of *two*, all the 148 or 149 know-nothings of the New York State legislature sons of foreign parents? The answer to these questions will put to shame the warfare which know-nothingism is waging upon the policy of the founders of this republic. It is not simply a warfare upon the foreign-born citizens diffused throughout the Union, identified in interest with our institutions; connected by the closest ties with native-born citizens; engaged in industrial pursuits which add to the national wealth and prosperity; levelling mountains and filling up valleys for our great internal improvements; felling the forests, and spreading the area of productive agriculture in the Far West; shouldering their muskets when the tocsin of war sounds; and fighting and dying bravely on the battle field by the side of native Americans. A warfare upon such a body of men is bad enough in all conscience; but the warfare of know-nothingism is against the principles on which our Revolution was started and was consummated—against the policy engrafted upon our constitution, and carried out by liberal naturalization laws in Congress; and against the prosperity of the nation, which has received one of its chief impulses from this policy.

